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exclude no man because of his religious opinions; above all, in their whole course of study and instruction, recognize a world, and a broad one too, lying beyond the college walls."

ART. VIII.—*Captain Canot, or Twenty Years of an African Slaver; being an Account of his Career and Adventures on the Coast, in the Interior, on Shipboard, and in the West Indies.* Written out and edited from the Captain's Journals, Memoranda, and Conversations. By BRANTZ MAYER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 448.

WHY have the Africans alone, of all nations and races, been doomed to continuous and enduring slavery? Members of other savage tribes have been enslaved, but the Africans alone have continued slaves. Others have shaken off the yoke, or perished under it; they alone have borne it as a permanent institution. Slavery has been their badge, their heritage, which they have handed down from generation to generation. To others it has been an accident; to them it has been a trait of character, a feature of their history. The Spaniards made slaves of the aborigines of South America and the West Indies; but no Indian slaves in those countries continue to this day. Our Puritan forefathers, not knowing what they did, shipped to Barbadoes, as slaves, a few of the captives whom they made in their Indian wars; but death, if not voluntary emancipation, soon freed them. Other barbarous races, however persecuted, banished, or cut down by the sword or the diseases of whites, have yet wholly escaped this ignominious doom,—have never been made beasts of burden to their conquerors. No one has thought of enslaving the Sandwich Islanders, the Tahitians, the Australians, or the Esquimaux. But the Africans have been slaves from time immemorial. The ancient Egyptians, as appears from their hieroglyphics and paintings, made goods and chattels of them; and the modern Egyptians and the Turks have done the same. Judging from history alone, we might as soon expect the leopard to change his skin,

as the Ethiopian to wipe out the foul spot of servitude. The very year that the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, a Dutch trading-vessel brought twenty negroes to Jamestown, and thereby fastened the institution of slavery upon our Southern States, — not, as we hope, for ever.

Efforts have not been wanting to relieve Africa from this fearful hereditary doom. The trade has been put under the ban of the civilized world. It is death for an Englishman or an American to engage in it; and France, Spain, and Portugal menace those concerned in it with heavy penalties. The navies of the most powerful maritime nations watch the coast of Africa, and it has been colonized at commanding points for the express purpose of extirpating the slave-trade. The resources of diplomacy have been exhausted, and blood and treasure have been spent like water for the same end. England alone, before 1840, had spent more than fifteen millions of pounds sterling in the attempt to suppress the traffic, besides sacrificing thousands of lives in the ceaseless blockade of a pestilential coast. She has established, at an expense of half a million of dollars a year, a colony at Sierra Leone, as a place of refuge for the Africans rescued from the slave-ships; and during the first half-century after its foundation, 60,000 recaptured negroes were landed there, and told to enjoy their freedom under the protection of the British flag.

But what has been the result of all these efforts? The slave-trade has flourished, and still flourishes. It was calculated, in 1840, apparently on sufficient data, that not less than 150,000 slaves were annually imported from Africa into Brazil and the Spanish West Indies. In one year, 1848, it appears that 75,000 were carried to Brazil alone. The free colony at Sierra Leone languishes; the Africans, so prolific elsewhere, cannot even keep up their numbers in a settlement where they are protected from the three great scourges of their race, slavery, war, and despotism. Though 60,000 have been carried thither, the total population in 1840 was but 40,000. Sir T. F. Buxton, for so many years the leader of the antislavery movement in England, was obliged, fifteen years ago, to make this sad confession: —

“Millions of money and multitudes of lives have been sacrificed, and

in return for all, we have only the afflicting conviction that the slave-trade is as far as ever from being suppressed; nay, I am afraid that the fact is not to be disputed, that, while we have thus been endeavoring to extinguish the traffic, it has actually doubled in amount." — *The Slave-Trade and its Remedy*, p. 171.

We can, indeed, directly answer the question why the traffic has not been put down by all these efforts. A slave can be purchased on the African coast for ten dollars, and can be sold in Cuba or Brazil for five hundred dollars. A schooner of ninety tons can carry 220 negroes in her hold; and though one fourth of them should die on the passage,—though even one vessel out of three should be captured by British cruisers,—the profit on those who are safely landed at their place of destination is great enough to cover all losses, and to supply an irresistible temptation to fit out other slavers. The first schooner-load of slaves which Captain Canot sent to Matanzas from Africa yielded, after all direct and incidental expenses were paid, a net profit of more than \$41,000. So great a temptation as is thus afforded will induce unprincipled men to incur any risk. He who sails as the master of a slaver may coolly calculate, that there is about one chance in twenty that he will be hanged, and at least one in three that he will lose both ship and cargo. Now there are persons enough in the world, who, with a prospect of making \$40,000 by a single successful voyage, occupying not more than four months, will cheerfully accept this hazard.

It is a little remarkable, that, in all the discussions of this agitating subject, so far as we are aware, no plan of gradual emancipation has ever been proposed. The general impression is, that no such plan is practicable, and that only two issues can reasonably be contemplated;—the one, that of a convulsion which shall bring slavery to a violent end; the other, that of the peaceful continuance of the present rate of increase, which will cause the slaves in this country to number, before the end of the present century, more than ten millions. Any discussion of this point may appear an idle waste of ingenuity, as, in the heated state of the public mind upon the subject, even if a practicable scheme could be proposed, it could not be adopted; amid so many difficulties, it might be

defeated by the opposition even of a small minority. Still, it is one thing for the evil to appear irremediable from the very nature of the case, or from circumstances over which man has no control, and another and quite a different thing, that the obstinacy of men should alone prevent the application of a remedy. Profitless as the speculation may appear, therefore, we will endeavor to show that the gradual and peaceful extinction of slavery in the United States is possible.

Any plan for the accomplishment of this end, as it would require the hearty co-operation of the Slave States, must comprise two things;—full compensation to the owners, and the removal of the emancipated blacks. At the present rate of increase, the annual addition to the number of slaves in the United States is about 96,000. As the cost of exporting one person to Liberia does not exceed one hundred dollars, an annual expenditure of less than ten millions would provide for the emigration of a number equal to the whole annual increase. If they were sent to the British West Indies, where their services are equally needed, and where all the means of comfortable maintenance are equally open to them, the cost would not exceed one half of this amount. Hence, if means could be provided for emancipating all the slaves who come of age after a certain period, the whole number thus emancipated might be sent out of the country at an expense which would not exceed ten millions annually at the outset; and as, under such an arrangement, the number of child-bearing slaves would be constantly and rapidly diminishing, this expenditure would grow smaller every year, and cease entirely by the end of the present century, or soon after.

It is a little more difficult to estimate the present value of an obligation to emancipate every slave who should first come of age after 1870. On an average, however, one hundred dollars paid now would probably induce every owner of a child to bind himself to emancipate that child sixteen years hence. This sum, accumulating at compound interest, would amount to two hundred and fifty dollars when the period of emancipation arrived; and meanwhile it would operate as an insurance against the chances either of death or escape. Taking males and females, the sick and the well, together, it is

probably as much as slaves five years old are worth, the value of their services between the ages of five and twenty-one being added to the purchase-money. The average payment of another ten millions a year, therefore, would secure the emancipation of every slave who may come of age after 1870; and after that period, for the reason already indicated, this annual expenditure also would constantly diminish, and be reduced to nothing soon after the close of the present century.

If these calculations are correct, the cost of getting rid of the institution of slavery, and of the blacks also, would be twenty millions a year for the first sixteen years, and an average of ten millions a year for thirty years afterwards. This would be the maximum expenditure; in fact, the amount would probably be much diminished, in the first place, by the willingness of very many slaveholders to emancipate their slaves without charge, on assurance that they would be sent out of the country; and in the second place, after the deportation had gone on to a considerable extent, by the joint consent of the blacks and their owners, that the former should remain as hired laborers. But without relying on such deductions, though the total expense would be considerable, it would be but a trifling tax upon the immense resources of the nation. Even during the earlier period, the annual payment would be but one seventh of the sum which Great Britain pays every year for the interest on her national debt. After our insignificant national debt is paid off, the annual excess of the present income over the expenditures of the United States would probably be almost or quite sufficient to defray the whole cost of the operation. It would certainly be sufficient, if, by contracting a moderate debt during the first sixteen years, the expenditure for the whole period were equalized, as the average annual tax would be less than fourteen millions. In 1834 Great Britain paid one hundred millions of dollars at once, for the emancipation of 800,000 slaves. The payment of seven times that amount, distributed through a period of half a century, would suffice both to emancipate and export a slave population four times as great, besides making the operation so very gradual as to occasion no shock to the political or economical interests of the nation, and preparing

the exported blacks for usefulness in the country to which they might be sent, by causing them to spend the whole period of their minority in what would virtually be a state of tutelage. Those who doubt the possibility of exporting so large a number of human beings as 96,000 a year, may be referred to the recent experience of Ireland, the annual emigration from which country for the last eight years has exceeded 200,000. We may add, that the Irish population of the United States, who certainly do not own a hundredth part of its wealth, remitted, in 1853 alone, more than seven millions of dollars for the relief of their distressed relatives in their mother land.

This speculation may seem fanciful, as we have remarked; but it is founded upon two considerations, both of which must be kept constantly in view if the discussion of this deeply interesting matter is ever to lead to any beneficial results. The first is, that the problem can never be resolved except by looking at its pecuniary aspect. As we have seen, the slave-trade has been kept up solely because it is profitable, — immensely profitable. The force of public sentiment, the opinion of the civilized world, has been directed against it, and has accomplished nothing. It has been forbidden by law, — by the laws of all nations, — the severest penalties being denounced against those who should disregard the prohibition. But the prohibition has been disregarded, and the traffic has been more prosperous since it was denounced by law than it was before. Force has been applied, and this too has totally failed. The slaver runs the gauntlet of the whole British navy, and carries her living freight safely to Matanzas or Bahia. She mocks the cruisers which are sent to guard the African coast. Captain Canot tells with great glee several stories of his entrapping or hoodwinking British officers, so that heavy cargoes of slaves were shipped almost under their eyes. An accomplished knave or desperado is quickly overpowered in a contest with the police, if the struggle take place on shore, and in the midst of a civilized and law-loving community; but give him the range of the whole coast of a barbarous continent, and the limitless expanse of an ocean, to contend on, and in three cases out of four the police will come off second

best. Storms and the want of provisions will not allow the blockade of a slave-factory to be incessant; and during the compulsory absence of the cruiser even for a few hours, the whole fruit of months of previous watching is lost. The immense profits of the traffic enable the captain of a slaver to bide his time, and to employ all the necessary means for outwitting or outrunning his pursuer.

As with the slave-trade, so is it with slavery, the property at stake in the latter case being vastly greater than that involved in the former. In the magnitude of the stake and the number of the players consists the security of the game. All other considerations must give way when so vast an amount of wealth, distributed among many and powerful States, is affected and imperilled. In such cases, argument has no weight, and force is unavailing. If the institution were made unprofitable, it would waste and disappear like a morning cloud. But so long as it continues to yield income, and is so connected with all other species of property that the destruction of it would cause a general ruin, it is safe against all attacks. Men will cling to it with all the greater earnestness and devotion, whenever it is assaulted from without. As the tree most exposed to storms expands its roots and clings to the earth with a stronger grasp, it will derive additional strength from every blast; it will become firmer on the side which is nearest to danger. Untwine the fibres which connect it with men's pecuniary interests, and it will perish of itself, as a tree losing its hold upon the ground dies for lack of nutriment. Slavery in the United States can be bought out, if the matter be conducted with sufficient slowness and discretion; but it cannot be killed out. It has a principle of strength within it of the same kind with that which has given such tenacity of life to the African slave-trade, though vastly superior in degree. It can be dealt with only as a matter of political economy, or in the spirit of a cool calculation of profit and loss. Render its extirpation both profitable and safe, and it will die without violence.

The second consideration to which we advert is closely connected with the former one, as it relates to the expense of getting rid of slavery. If the obligation to emancipate the

blacks and restore them to their original home is national, the burden and the cost of the process should also be national. Either the North has no right to meddle with the matter at all, or it is bound to do its full share of the work, and pay its proportion of the bill. This is the dictate of expediency as well as of justice. The enterprise is one of such magnitude that it cannot be accomplished except by the united effort and united strength of the whole country. Thus alone can the subject be broached in a conciliatory way, and without occasioning irritation which would be fatal to the project. Slavery has not been created by the present generation; it is a part of the national inheritance. Only, in the division of the ancestral estate, it fell to the share of our brethren at the South. We have no right to call upon them to sacrifice it, except by taking a full share of the sacrifice upon our own shoulders. The cost of doing away with the institution entirely, and even removing all traces of it from our soil, as we have shown, though considerable, is not too great for the whole nation to bear. But it is too heavy to be borne by those States only which have been impoverished, or whose prosperity, to say the least, has been impeded, by this fatal inheritance.

We did not intend, however, to discuss slavery in the abstract, or to consider the prospects of the institution in the United States, but only to review Mr. Mayer's volume, which amply deserves notice for its own sake. It contains a great deal of information about Africa and the slave-trade on its coast and in the interior, which is certainly curious, and which we believe to be authentic and trustworthy. It would have been better if the editor had restrained his ambition to write a lively and entertaining book, and had been content to tell Captain Canot's story in a plain and straightforward way, without those embellishments which now certainly give it the air of romance. But there is unmistakable evidence that the narrative is based upon fact, and that the hero of it purposed to tell the whole truth, without bias, disguise, or concealment. We will not vouch for the correctness of the Captain's recollections of the earlier part of his adventurous career. Here he is evidently spinning a sailor's yarn. But in

relation to Africa and the slave-trade he evidently thought he had valuable information to give, and he speaks like a witness upon the stand, or a confessing criminal who no longer wishes to keep back the truth. His own share in the transactions narrated is told with frankness, and without comment or apology. He evidently considered that he had no character to support but that of a reckless adventurer, who would not boast of his conduct, and had no desire to palliate it. He was introduced to Mr. Mayer by Dr. James Hall, the founder and first governor of the colony at Cape Palmas, who had had excellent opportunities to know the man while on the African coast, and who seems to have conceived a favorable opinion of his intentions after his career as a slave-trader was ended.

French by parentage, Italian by his place of birth, and a cabin-boy in an American vessel at the age of twelve years, Canot was well fitted for a roaming and adventurous life; no nation could claim his undivided allegiance, or subject him to her laws. Yet the opening of his career was one of good promise. The vessel in which he first shipped belonged to a liberal and enterprising merchant of Boston; and on his arrival at this port, Canot was so fortunate as to attract the owner's notice and commendation, and receive from his generosity the means of completing his nautical education. During five years, he sailed on different voyages from Salem in this State, and, as soon as he became familiar with the details of his profession, obtained a post as mate, and had a fair prospect of working his way honorably and well through the world. But temptation came, one day, while his ship was lying at Antwerp; and after deserting her, and running a short round of reckless dissipation, he was compelled to accept inferior employment, first in an English, and afterwards in a Dutch vessel. In both cases the voyage ended in shipwreck; the second misfortune of this sort being the more serious, as it threw him into the power of a band of wreckers and pirates in the West Indies. Of his adventures while in their company, Canot has a marvellous story to tell, not one half of which is probably true. If, as he says, after remaining some months with them, he was finally dismissed un-

harm, and with a purse of money and a note of introduction from their captain to a trader at Havana, it is more likely that he was their associate than their prisoner. The *friend* to whom our adventurer had been recommended by a pirate turned out to be an Italian grocer, who was interested in the slave-trade. With such associates, his own destination did not long remain doubtful. In September, 1826, he sailed as a supernumerary officer in the schooner *Areostatico*, bound for the coast of Africa, with a crew consisting of "twenty-one scamps, — Spaniards, Portuguese, Frenchmen, and mongrels." Though his fears or his scruples prevented Canot from continuing a pirate, he had no qualms about engaging in the slave-trade.

The first night after the arrival of the vessel at the Rio Pongo was signalized by a desperate attempt of the villanous crew to murder the officers, and get possession of the schooner with the four kegs of specie that she carried as the means of purchasing a cargo of negroes. The plot was detected on the eve of execution, and the mutineers subdued, after a furious struggle, by Canot and the boatswain, four lives being lost in the encounter. To avoid subsequent inquiry at Havana into the particulars of this affray, in which the absence of the captain and the cowardice of the mate had made Canot the chief actor, he determined to quit the vessel, and remain as clerk and assistant at the slave-factory which had been established at Pongo by a mulatto wretch named John Ormond, or Mongo John. The new secretary's wages were to be a negro a month, the unlimited use of the liquor-store and a black harem, and an opportunity to trade a little on his own account. Ten days were needed to refit the *Areostatico*, but twenty more elapsed before her living freight could be obtained.

"When the runners returned from the interior with the slaves required to complete the *Areostatico's* cargo, I considered it my duty to the Italian grocer of Regla to despatch his vessel personally. Accordingly, I returned on board to aid in stowing *one hundred and eight boys and girls, the eldest of whom did not exceed fifteen years!* As I crawled between decks, I confess I could not imagine how this little army was to be packed or draw breath in a hold but *twenty-two inches high!* Yet the experiment was promptly made, inasmuch as it was necessary to

secure them below in descending the river, in order to prevent their leaping overboard and swimming ashore. I found it impossible to adjust the whole in a sitting posture; but we made them lie down in each other's laps, like *sardines* in a can, and in this way obtained space for the entire cargo. Strange to tell, when the *Areostatico* reached Havana, but *three* of these 'passengers' had paid the debt of nature." — p. 74.

We do not intend to surfeit our readers with the horrors of the traffic on the coast, to trace out all the crimes with which it is attended, or to follow in detail the story of Canot's checkered fortunes. The whole picture is an appalling one; and the saddest feature in it is the fact which one is not permitted to doubt, that all the efforts to suppress the traffic have had no effect but to augment the sufferings of the slaves, and to place the business exclusively in the hands of ruffians who have no compunctions of conscience and no touch of mercy, and whose lives are stained with every turpitude of which human nature is capable. Grant that Canot's account of such wretches as Mongo John, Da Souza, and Don Pedro Blanco is highly colored; still it is evidently sketched from the life, and the reality which is the groundwork of it is horrible enough after all allowance is made for exaggeration. The last-named trader quitted the business in 1840, with a fortune of over a million of dollars, amassed by kidnapping human beings. For every dollar in his purse, he had probably sent an African slave across the Atlantic. Before the trade was denounced by law, it was carried on by unprincipled men, it is true, but yet by those who had some character to lose, and who had not entirely stifled the promptings of their better nature. Sufficient room and abundant food on shipboard were provided for the slaves; and the mortality among them during the voyage did not much exceed that of the crew. Even now, many precautions are taken to insure the health of the blacks at sea, as every life lost is a considerable deduction from the profits of the voyage, and the officers of the vessel receive "head-money" for every negro who is brought safe to port. But as all else is sacrificed to avoid capture, the number and swiftness of the British cruisers have caused a fearful abbreviation of these chances of life. Low

and sharp-built schooners, hardly larger than a pilot-boat, carry as many passengers as a first-class packet-ship from Liverpool to New York. In 1840, says Canot, the *Volador*, of one hundred and sixty-five tons' burden, took on board seven hundred and forty-nine human beings, to be conveyed from Africa to Cuba. Still further, the difficulty of embarking a cargo having lowered the price of slaves on the African coast, the number of deaths on the voyage is comparatively of less consequence. Human life is thus cheapened, and the mortality among the blacks is frightfully increased for the sake of a feeble chance of rescuing a portion of them from slavery.

Canot's account of the manner in which the trade is carried on between the interior and the coast of Africa is minute and interesting; and as he has here no motive for suppressing or varnishing the truth, we presume it is trustworthy. As soon as the dry season commences, caravans begin to arrive from the interior, following in their journey the course of rivers, or the numerous paths or trails through the forest which are the only means of communication between the various towns. The merchandise brought by these caravans is far from consisting of slaves alone. The first one which Canot saw was composed of 700 persons, who brought 40 slaves, 3,500 hides, 15 tons of rice, 600 pounds of ivory, and many other commodities. The articles given in return are chiefly powder, cotton cloth, tobacco, and "Brummagem" muskets, nearly all of which are not only of British manufacture, but are manufactured expressly for this market. In fact, the division of labor in this business of the slave-trade is very nearly as follows: the Americans, we are sorry to say, build the vessels, which of course outsail everything; the English supply the merchandise with which the slaves are bought; Spain and Portugal furnish the markets for them; while outlaws and desperados of all nations, and of no nation at all, compose the crews of the slavers.

The caravans are involuntary associations, being formed by some powerful chieftain in the interior, who blockades for weeks all the paths in his neighborhood leading to the coast, till a sufficient number of private traders, with their mer-

chandise, are entrapped, to make up an imposing array for the purposes either of war or trade. The chieftain himself, or a trusted delegate, takes the command of the troop thus formed, and of course levies a tax on all the traders in it, as the price of his protection. The Mohammedan tribes in Africa seldom enslave those of their own faith, except as a punishment for gross offences; often, indeed, they manumit or ransom a devout disciple of Islamism, whom captivity in war or other casualties may have reduced to slavery. But they seize every pretext for enslaving the African "unbelievers" who come into their power, as no other commodity is so easily obtained wherewith to purchase foreign goods. Three fourths of the slaves brought to the coast are obtained in wars which are begun and continued for no other purpose than that of obtaining a supply of this convenient article of trade. The extinction of the foreign traffic, therefore, would take away one great cause of war and misery in the interior. Yet slavery as a domestic institution in Africa would not be thus affected. Slaves would still be sought for body-guards, for laborers, and for purposes of debauchery or pomp. The institution is everywhere prominent in African life, being the chief feature of the social economy and the commerce of the people. Hence, also, nearly all trade with Africa, however innocent in appearance, is in truth intimately connected with the slave-trade. The merchandise which is carried thither is, sooner or later, bartered against slaves; for, as Canot remarks, slaves are the commodity that is most in request, and thus they form the circulating currency of the country. And here we find another answer to the question proposed in the outset; the whites have generally made slaves of Africans rather than of any other people, because the Africans are so much addicted to making slaves of each other.

When the slaves arrive at the coast, they are secured by their white purchasers in barracoons, or palisaded inclosures, where they are generally well fed and treated, till an opportunity occurs for shipping them. Sometimes a cruiser blockades a slave-factory for weeks together, and if the barracoons happen at the time to be full, the necessity of providing food for several hundred or a thousand mouths is a severe tax

upon the wits and the pocket of the dealer. At last, a storm, or the lack of provisions on board, removes the blockade temporarily; a smoke raised upon a headland soon brings a slaver into the offing; and, all preparations being previously made, a full cargo is shipped in her in a few hours. The following account of the process of embarkation, and the treatment of the slaves on board, is evidently a palliative one, but we suppose it is a near approximation to the truth.

“An African factor of fair repute is ever careful to select his human cargo with consummate prudence, so as not only to supply his employers with athletic laborers, but to avoid any taint of disease that may affect the slaves in their transit to Cuba or the American main. Two days before embarkation, the head of every male and female is neatly shaved; and, if the cargo belongs to several owners, each man's *brand* is impressed on the body of his respective negro. This operation is performed with pieces of silver wire, or small irons fashioned into the merchant's initials, heated just hot enough to blister without burning the skin. When the entire cargo is the venture of but one proprietor, the brand is always dispensed with.

“On the appointed day, the *barracoon* or slave-pen is made joyous by the abundant ‘feed’ which signalizes the negro's last hours in his native country. The feast over, they are taken alongside the vessel in canoes; and as they touch the deck, they are entirely stripped, so that women as well as men go out of Africa as they came into it, — *naked*. This precaution, it will be understood, is indispensable; for perfect nudity, during the whole voyage, is the only means of securing cleanliness and health. In this state, they are immediately ordered below, the men to the hold and the women to the cabin, while boys and girls are, day and night, kept on deck, where their sole protection from the elements is a sail in fair weather, and a *tarpaulin* in foul.

“At meal-time they are distributed in messes of ten. Thirty years ago, when the Spanish slave-trade was lawful, the captains were somewhat more ceremoniously religious than at present, and it was then a universal habit to make the gangs say grace before meat, and give thanks afterwards. In our days, however, they dispense with this ritual, and content themselves with a ‘*Viva la Habana*,’ or ‘Hurrah for Havana,’ accompanied by a clapping of hands.

“This over, a bucket of salt water is served to each mess, by way of ‘finger glasses’ for the ablution of hands, after which a *kidd* — either of rice, farina, yams, or beans, according to the tribal habit of the negroes — is placed before the squad. In order to prevent greediness,

or inequality in the appropriation of nourishment, the process is performed by signals from a monitor, whose motions indicate when the darkies shall dip and when they shall swallow.

"It is the duty of a guard to report immediately whenever a slave refuses to eat, in order that his abstinence may be traced to stubbornness or disease. Negroes have sometimes been found in slavers who attempted voluntary starvation; so that, when the watch reports the patient to be 'shamming,' his appetite is stimulated by the medical antidote of a 'cat.' If the slave, however, is truly ill, he is forthwith ticketed for the sick-list by a bead or button around his neck, and despatched to an infirmary in the fore-castle.

"These meals occur twice daily, — at ten in the morning and four in the afternoon, — and are terminated by another ablution. Thrice in each twenty-four hours they are served with half a pint of water. Pipes and tobacco are circulated economically among both sexes; but as each negro cannot be allowed the luxury of a separate bowl, boys are sent round with an adequate supply, allowing a few whiffs to each individual. On regular days, — probably three times a week, — their mouths are carefully rinsed with vinegar, while, nearly every morning, a dram is given as an antidote to scurvy.

"Although it is found necessary to keep the sexes apart, they are allowed to converse freely during day while on deck. Corporal punishment is *never* inflicted save by order of an officer, and, even then, not until the culprit understands exactly why it is done. Once a week, the ship's barber scrapes their chins without assistance from soap; and on the same day their nails are closely pared, to insure security from harm in those nightly battles that occur, when the slave contests with his neighbor every inch of plank to which he is glued. During afternoons of serene weather, men, women, girls, and boys are allowed to unite in African melodies, which they always enhance by an extemporaneous *tom-tom* on the bottom of a tub or tin kettle." — pp. 102–104.

At night, of course, the sufferings of the slaves must be much greater than by day; for the space between the slave deck and the main deck is often not more than two or three feet, and the space allotted to each one is hardly enough for standing room.

"At sundown, the process of stowing the slaves for the night is begun. The second mate and boatswain descend into the hold, whip in hand, and range the slaves in their regular places; those on the right side of the vessel facing forward, and lying in each other's laps, while those on the left are similarly stowed with their faces towards the stern.

In this way each negro lies on his right side, which is considered preferable for the action of the heart. In allotting places, particular attention is paid to size, the taller being selected for the greatest breadth of the vessel, while the shorter and younger are lodged near the bows. When the cargo is large and the lower deck crammed, the supernumeraries are disposed of on deck, which is securely covered with boards to shield them from moisture. The *strict* discipline of nightly stowage is, of course, of the greatest importance in slavers, else every negro would accommodate himself as if he were a passenger.

“In order to insure perfect silence and regularity during night, a slave is chosen as constable from every ten, and furnished with a ‘cat’ to enforce commands during his appointed watch. In remuneration for his services, which, it may be believed, are admirably performed whenever the whip is required, he is adorned with an old shirt or tarry trousers. Now and then, billets of wood are distributed among the sleepers, but this luxury is never granted until the good temper of the negroes is ascertained, for slaves have often been tempted to mutiny by the power of arming themselves with these pillows from the forest.

“It is very probable that many of my readers will consider it barbarous to make slaves lie down naked upon a board, but let me inform them that native Africans are not familiar with the use of feather-beds, nor do any but the free and rich in their mother country indulge in the luxury even of a mat or raw-hide. Among the Mandingo chiefs, — the most industrious and civilized of Africans, — the beds, divans, and sofas are heaps of mud, covered with untanned skins for cushions, while logs of wood serve for bolsters! I am of opinion, therefore, that emigrant slaves experience very slight inconvenience in lying down on the deck.

“But *ventilation* is carefully attended to. The hatches and bulkheads of every slaver are grated, and apertures are cut about the deck for ampler circulation of air. Wind-sails, too, are constantly pouring a steady draft into the hold, except during a chase, when, of course, every comfort is temporarily sacrificed for safety. During calms or in light and baffling winds, when the suffocating air of the tropics makes ventilation impossible, the gratings are always removed, and portions of the slaves allowed to repose at night on deck, while the crew is armed to watch the sleepers.

“Handcuffs are rarely used on shipboard. It is the common custom to secure slaves in the *barracoons*, and while shipping, by chaining *ten* in a gang; but as these platoons would be extremely inconvenient at sea, the manacles are immediately taken off and replaced by leg-irons, which fasten them in pairs by the feet. Shackles are never used but

for *full-grown men*, while *women* and *boys* are set at liberty as soon as they embark. It frequently happens that when the behavior of *male* slaves warrants their freedom, they are released from all fastenings long before they arrive." — pp. 104, 105.

We had proposed to give an abstract of Canot's observations during various trips into the interior, but this may be as well omitted, for he did not go very far from the coast, and his story adds little to what we have learned from other travellers. He makes a very favorable report of the American settlements at Liberia. Though he carried on the trade in their immediate vicinity for a long time, he received no encouragement or aid from them, and the government and people together seem to have exerted themselves zealously, and at last with success, to break up his illicit traffic.

"The first expedition upon which Don Pedro Blanco despatched me revealed a new phase of Africa to my astonished eyes. I was sent in a small Portuguese schooner to Liberia for tobacco; and here the trader who had never contemplated the negro on the shores of his parent country except as a slave or a catcher of slaves, first beheld the rudiments of an infant state, which in time may become the wedge of Ethiopian civilization. The comfortable government house, neat public ware-rooms, large emigration home, designed for the accommodation of the houseless; clean and spacious streets, with brick stores and dwellings; the twin churches with their bells and comfortable surroundings; the genial welcome from well-dressed negroes; the regular wharves and trim craft on the stocks, and, last of all, a visit from a colored collector with a *printed* bill for twelve dollars "anchor dues," all convinced me that there was, in truth, something more in these ebony frames than an article of commerce and labor. I paid the bill eagerly, — considering that a document *printed in Africa by Negroes*, under North American influence, would be a curiosity among the infidels of Gallinas!" — p. 335.

No one need be a prophet to affirm, that, if the slave-trade on the coast of Africa is ever completely extirpated, it will be through the agency of the colony at Liberia and similar establishments. The English settlement at Sierra Leone, formed of uneducated blacks just rescued from the slave-ships, has been a miserable failure. The American colony, peopled by civilized and somewhat educated blacks from this

country, prospers and increases, both in numbers and in the extent of coast which it commands. Before 1840, the four settlements of which it consists had a population of five thousand souls, of whom only three thousand five hundred were emigrants from the United States, the remainder being either children of those emigrants, or native Africans who came of their own accord from the adjoining country to learn the ways of civilization. Thus the nucleus of a civilized and Christian state, composed exclusively of negroes, has been successfully formed on the African coast, within the limits of which not one of the peculiar scourges of African life can exist. Every square mile that is added to its territory is so much wrested from the domains of barbarism, heathendom, and the slave-trade. Every black who is sent thither from this country becomes a pioneer of civilization, a missionary of the Christian religion, a founder of the useful arts, in the land of his fathers. The first difficulties of the enterprise are overcome; the colony is already numerous and powerful enough to give the law to the savage tribes in its neighborhood. It needs only to be fed by constant and large supplies of emigrants from this country, in order to become a great Christian nation, which shall recompense Africa a thousandfold for all the miseries that have been inflicted upon it by the whites. When it is further considered, that the same measure which would rescue one great continent from barbarism and the slave-trade, would wipe out from another the foul spot of slavery, and that too by no convulsion, no jar of conflicting elements, but as peacefully and gradually as one generation of human beings passes away from earth, and another takes its place, the project rises and dilates before us, as one that would be accompanied in every step of its progress by the prayers of the wise and good, and by the special benediction of Heaven.